

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 56.—No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 8, 1825. [Price 1s.

THE COMEDY.

Kensington, 2d Oct. 1825.

THE first act of my "*intense*" Comedy was published in Dublin on the 27th of September, in the daily paper called the Dublin Morning Post and Daily Advertiser. It would seem, that I am destined to become a great dramatic writer; for, the consequence of the republication of this first Act is described, in the same newspaper of the 28th of September, in the following words:

"THE FIRST ACT OF THE COMEDY.

"There was a great demand yesterday evening for the *Dublin Morning Post*, which contained the first Act of Mr. Cobbett's Comedy, properly enough called a FINISHER. The impression being all disposed of, the Newsmen had the conscience to require from *one to five shillings for each paper remaining in their hands.*"

There, super-human gentlemen! There is "*intense*" seeking after the Drama: there "*feelosofers*"; make a newspaper sell for from one to five shillings; and then I will talk to you again. Now I do declare that this Comedy, which contains about fifty octavo pages, very long and very broad, and extraordinarily well packed, was all written by my own hand, and all printed by my printers, between Saturday morning, the 17th of September, and Thursday noon, the 21st of September.

But, the inconveniencies and imperfections and omissions, arising from this hurry, compelled me to publish a new edition. The last Register; namely, that of the first of October, contained an explanation of this matter, and also contained my reasons for not having a wedding in my Comedy. This article of explanations and excuses has been inserted, by the way of preface, to the new edition, which is now printed on common paper at the price of sixpence, though it contains three sheets of

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

paper, and is, out of all reason, far too cheap. I have done this, however, in order that the readers of the Register may, at this reasonable price, supply themselves with the Comedy complete, which it was not, as it first appeared in the Register. There is another edition, printed on *very fine paper*, and very nicely executed, price one shilling, which is the cheapest *pamphlet*, perhaps, of the same quantity of print, that ever was sold in London. This, also, if the purchaser choose it, may be bound up with the Register.

But, such are the evils of a want of experience, that, even in this new edition, one very material thing was wholly omitted; namely, a list of the **DRAMATIS PERSONÆ**. Several of the copies of this new edition were sold before this essential part of the performance was thought of. To say the truth, I myself did not think of it at all, not having either seen or read a play for the last twenty-six years of my life. Some of my readers expressed a great desire to have such list. I have therefore, now supplied it, and had it put into all the remaining copies of the Comedy that are already printed. The thing is, therefore, at the third spell, made what I deem perfectly according to rule, all ex-

cept the wedding, which, for the reasons stated in the preface, was a difficulty altogether insurmountable. Any number of copies, whether fine or common paper, may be had at No. 183, Fleet-street, and, I suppose, of all newsmen and booksellers in the "*entire*" empire. I repeat, what I said before; namely, that I hereby give leave to the "*entire*" play-actors of the "*entire*" of England and Scotland to act this my comedy for the "*intense*" entertainment of all who have "leisure to laugh" at the "*entire*" jack-asses who had the "*intense*" impudence to call me an "*old fellow*," "*an under growling fool*," and "*a comical miscreant*." I hereby freely give and grant the same permission to the "*entire*" of the play-actors of the Sister Kingdom; and, further, for the benefit of the poor *forties*, whom the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the lords, saved from that *deliverance of their franchises*, which was intended by the great Reformer, Sir Glory, and by that illustrious Big O, who was "*intensely*" bent on their deliverance, even at the sacrifice of being compelled to endure a patent of precedency for himself; for the benefit of these poor *forties*, who are not overburthened with either silver or copper

however their trusty leaders may be with brass : I hereby give and grant to all manner of booksellers, broad-sheet men, publishers, printers, newsmen, horn-boys, and all manner of persons in the aforesaid sister kingdom of Ireland, to print and cause to be printed, and sell and cause to be sold, or to be given away, in any form, size or manner, and at any price that they may choose, this my comedy in three Acts, entitled. "BIG O AND SIR GLORY; OR, LEISURE TO LAUGH." But, I do require of the said booksellers, &c. or at least, I expect it at their hands; that they will not curtail, cut out, mutilate, suppress, or alter, any part of this my comedy, on pain of my just displeasure. And furthermore of any chastisement that it may happen to be in my power to inflict upon them. For England and Scotland I give no liberty to print or publish any part of this my comedy; because I print and publish it myself, and that, too, at a very reasonable price.

In order that the readers of the Register may be put to as little additional expense as possible in this case, I have, in the last number of the Register, published the preface; and I shall now insert a list of the *Dramatis Personæ*. There will remain, indeed,

excluded still from the first Register-edition, the interesting ghost which is introduced into the second edition; but this is an evil absolutely without a remedy. I now insert the list of the *Dramatis Personæ*.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

BIG O. A super-human Counsellor, intensely bent upon *delivering* (after the Orange fashion) the entire of the forty shilling freeholders of their votes, even with the certainty of being compelled to endure a patent of precedency, as a reward for "all his *sacrifices*" in effecting the said deliverance.

SIR GLORY. Member of the Borough of Rump, uncommonly *virtuous* and *generous*, having an intense desire to deliver the poor *forties*, "always a *friend of reform*," an enemy of the *crib*, fondly attached to *purity*; but having, nevertheless, an intense antipathy to *snow*.

SANCHO. The colleague and squire of Sir Glory, avoiding the *crib*, but liking the *cream*, and always opposing the *crib* and the *cow*.

BLACK BALL, Esq. Lord of the ancient manor of Moonshine, greatly addicted to *swearing*, and having an intense love of *BRICK*, on account of the friendship of the *walls*, made of that material.

COUNSELLOR BRICK. Friend, reporter, and understrapper of

BIG O; also ready, if pushed to it, to submit to the *sacrifice* of enduring a patent.

HOWITZER. } Two Counsel-
BLUNDERBUSS. } lers, members of
the New Association, upholding Big O for their own sakes.

PATRICK. Another Counsellor, rather friendly to Cobbett.

DOCTOR BLACK. A Caledonian *feelosofer*, associate with Brougham, Lord John Russell, Dr. Birkbeck, and the *feelosofer* Macculloch, in founding the intense "London University;" also a "best possible public instructor."

ANNA BRODIE. Proprietress of the broadest sheet in the whole world, very aristocratic on account of her illustrious descent, and having an intense dislike to Cobbett's "*paunch*."

THWAITES. Late linen-draper, proprietor of another broad sheet, rival of that of Anna; and, like Anna, a distinguished branch of Mr. Brougham's "*best possible public instructor*."

BOTT SMITH. A sort of man-maggot, always trying to gnaw his way into Cobbett; also a branch of the "*best possible public instructor*."

COWHIDE. } Two of the Rump,
THIMBLE. } intensely fond of a good breakfast.

DOCKET. Big O's Attorney in Dublin.

COBBETT. A very mild and placid, patiently-enduring "*Old Fellow*," but most obstinately bent against *delivering* the poor *forties* at the expense

of a patent, for which Brick calls him "a rogue, and Big O calls him a "comical miscreant."

ROBERT. Cobbett's man, accompanying his master to Dublin.

GHOST OF BLACK DWARF.

ATTORNEYS' CLERKS, SERVANTS, and WAITERS.

I have now done all that I can do to retrieve the error which I committed in the first Register-publication of the comedy, and I send it into the world to produce that effect which it was intended to produce; namely, "*intense*" laughter at a set of the most "*intense*" asses that ever walked about the face of this earth; and having now dispatched them thus, in the only manner in which my readers could possibly have thought worthy of those readers and of myself, I leave them to puff one another, to pour forth their bombast, to tickle one another with an interchange of "*super-human*" praises, to think themselves the most illustrious and most "*intense*" of politicians and orators; to be laughed at and despised by all the rest of mankind. I cannot, however, quit them without again repeating my hope that Mr. LAWLESS, who participated in none of their childish and empty proceedings, will re-

frain from treating them in the gentle and serious manner in which he has hitherto treated them. He gives me great credit for my political sagacity, as he calls it, last winter. I deserve no such credit. Nine tenths of the tradesmen in London could have told Big O all that I told him; and there was hardly a man amongst them who was not shocked at his credulity. Indeed, the impression generally was, here, that he was not the victim, but the practiser of duplicity; an opinion which has been but too strongly confirmed by his subsequent conduct. One thing, above all, I wish to be borne in mind, on both sides of the water, but particularly in Ireland; namely, that I uttered not a word to the disparagement of Big O, or any of his projects, after the rejection of the bill, and after his return to Ireland; *until* I had read, in all the English newspapers, that he had thrown the blame of the wings upon the two bishops. He called me an undergrowling fool, or, at least, so he called all the associates of Mr. LAWLESS, whom he had the insolence to style, "*poor undergrowling JACK LAWLESS.*" I was well known to be one of Mr. LAWLESS's associates in this which was called undergrowling. Yet, I held my tongue

until I read, in all the English newspapers, that Big O had fastened the wings to the sides of the bishops. I knew the charge against them to be false; and it would have been baseness in me to hold my tongue. If I had known that Mr. KINSELLA was going to defend the bishops, I might still have held my tongue; but this I neither did nor could know; and, therefore, I thought it my duty to defend them; and though Mr. KINSELLA's first letter was published before my first letter on the subject was published, I could not know that, seeing that it was published in Dublin on the very day that I wrote that Register. Mr. KINSELLA's letter shows that a defence of the bishops was necessary; and was I to be called a "*comical miscreant,*" because I attempted that defence, in the only way that could give it a chance of success. I beg that these facts may be always borne in mind by every one who takes up this Comedy to read.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

THIS is not to take place this year; and I, for my part, am very glad of it. I told the Irish deputation, last winter, that it would not take place this year, notwith-

standing the confident way in which it was talked of by statesman Sancho, and by so many others. The subject would not be worth adverting to now, were it not for the delusion which it has been made the means of spreading about the country with regard to the supposed great power that Mr. CANNING has in the Cabinet, and the supposed *increasing insignificance of the Lord Chancellor*. A paragraph which appeared in the *Courier* newspaper, on Saturday, the 24th of September, has been copied, I see, into almost all the newspapers throughout England, and with particular eagerness by the newspapers in Ireland, who seem to have as natural a propensity to swallow incredible stories as rooks have to swallow worms and grubs. I will now insert the paragraph, and then remark upon it; first observing, however, that the object of the paragraph is to cause it to be generally believed that Mr. CANNING is the cock of the Cabinet; that the destinies of the "*Empire*" (as these bombastical fellows call this kingdom) rest upon the loquacious tongue of Mr. CANNING; and that the Lord Chancellor, and all the other really powerful men that sit in that Cabinet are mere puppets

moving as he pulls the wires. This is a piece of shocking delusion; but the delusion seems to serve the purpose of the greater part of the brethren of the broadsheet; and, therefore, away it goes all over the world. Here is the paragraph.

" On three different occasions, within the last two or three months, we stated, unreservedly, that there would be no dissolution of the Parliament this year, notwithstanding the confident assertions which were made to the contrary in various quarters. Within the last fortnight, these assertions were renewed with increased confidence, and we admit, on better grounds than before existed.—The question as to the expediency of dissolving Parliament this year, did certainly again occupy the attention of his Majesty's Ministers, *a portion of whom were strongly in favour of the measure*; but there were considerations, closely connected with two great political measures, to the discussion of which the present Parliament stands in a manner pledged, during the ensuing Session, which made the other portion so strongly disinclined to the proposed measure. And thus the matter stood, we believe, at the commencement of the present week, when Mr. Canning, Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, and other Members of the Cabinet, arrived in town.—*Mr. Canning, we understand, was decidedly of opinion that no dissolution ought to take place in the present*

"year. There was no necessity
 "for the measure; and, under
 "existing circumstances, it was
 "likely to produce an excitement
 "of party-feeling throughout the
 "country which it was desirable
 "to avoid. Ultimately, though
 "not, as we are informed, with-
 "out considerable discussion, *the*
 "*views of Mr. Canning and his*
 "*friends prevailed*, and it was re-
 "solved that the present Parlia-
 "ment should not be dissolved
 "this year. We believe we may
 "add, that this resolution was
 "taken before the meeting of the
 "Cabinet on Thursday. — For
 "ourselves, we cordially acqui-
 "esce in its propriety. It is true,
 "that at no period can Ministers
 "expect to have a General Elec-
 "tion under circumstances more
 "favourable to themselves; for
 "how can the popularity of the
 "Government be increased? But
 "as, on the one hand, there is,
 "certainly, no probability that this
 "popularity will diminish, while
 "on the other, there is a very
 "great probability that those pe-
 "culiar considerations, which
 "seemed to render an immediate
 "dissolution inexpedient, will be
 "considerably weakened, if not
 "wholly removed, before the ter-
 "mination of the next Session, no
 "future risk is incurred, at the
 "same time that a contingent pre-
 "sent one is avoided."

This paragraph has been
 eagerly caught hold of by the sa-
 pient editor of Big O's newspa-
 per, which still retains the name
 of "*Register*;" taken up, in the
 first place, in order to obtain po-
 pularity and circulation by the

regular publication of the contents
 of my weekly paper. This pro-
 found gentleman (for I will not
 call him such names as he *now*
 thinks proper to call me) takes
 this paragraph, as amounting to a
 proof that the friend of the Ca-
 tholics, as he chooses to think him,
 Mr. CANNING, has a prodigious
 deal of power; that he can pre-
 vent a dissolution of Parliament
 at his pleasure; and that, of
 course, he, when Big O shall
 again come over in all his illus-
 trious glory next session, can
 make the Lords vote for emanci-
 pation almost unanimously, and
 shower down silk gowns and pa-
 tents of precedence to cover the
 backs and thrust forward the "en-
 tire" bodies of all the "*intensely-*
talented" counsellors who are
 now seized with a more "intense"
 longing for these things than stock
 jobber's wife ever was for a coach
 and six, and for a young colonel
 to ride along with her in it; or
 than ever any old, broken-mouth-
 ed, enormously rich widow was
 for a title and a boy-husband,
 though she knew that he would,
 the moment he sacked her money,
 gladly consign her to the work-
 house.

Thus it is that the people of
 Ireland are again to be deceived
 and to be bothered and noodled

out of their senses. This sapient editor has not perceived, perhaps, that the *Courier* overshot his mark upon this occasion. The editor has not perceived, perhaps, that this same *Courier*, having published this paragraph on the Saturday, 24th September, hastened with all imaginable eagerness and gluttony, and with an appetite apparently equal to that of poor Cowhide and Thimble, when the servant came to announce, that there was not even a morsel of bread in the house; that he thus hastened, I say, on the Monday; not to eat his words of the Saturday, but fairly to bolt them, as farmers' servants do the bacon when it is exclusively of fat; that is to say, cutting it in wedges about two inches long, and tossing it down without touching their teeth, as poor Cowhide and Thimble would doubtless have done if they could have got the materials.

Mr. *Courier* fairly bolted his words of the Saturday; and, almost in so many words, begged pardon of the rest of the Ministers for having thus puffed up Mr. CANNING. Now, I ask, not this profound editor of the Dublin Register; not Big O, who thought, last winter, and who doubtless instructed his understrapper to inform this very Dublin Editor,

that Mr. CANNING had ousted the Lord Chancellor from his influence in the Cabinet; I ask not these people, nor that lump that cries as it goes, stand clear of "Brick-dust and dirt," as Patrick says in the Comedy, I ask not these people, these wretched deluded and deluding drivellers; but, I ask my readers; I ask men of sense and reason; *what could induce this Courier to gobble up his words in such haste!*

The man who conducts this *Courier* is not a hair-brained fool. He did not write the first paragraph (which I have inserted above) without thinking that he was right; or at least, without thinking that he was doing that which would be pleasing, I will not say to Mr. CANNING himself but to some persons in his office, from whom this man occasionally, at least, gets intelligence. What, then, I ask any reasonable person, could induce him to unsay on the Monday, and that too in so pointed a manner, that which he had so positively said on the Saturday? This writer, whatever he may be in other respects (and bad enough he is, like all the rest of his tribe,) could not possibly *like* to put forth this flat contradiction. It must have been disagreeable and very disagreeable to him to do it.

Therefore, he must have received an intimation, aye, and even a *command*, to make the retraction. And, for what motive could the command have been given? Why, to be sure, to remove that displeasure, which the original paragraph was calculated to excite in the rest of the Ministers, or at least in those who had the real power in their hands. They, most likely, had said nothing about the matter, and most likely would have said nothing about the matter. It is very likely also that Mr. CANNING would have said nothing about the matter; but his friends, and particularly his clerks, knew well what the rest of the Ministers would think, if the puffing paragraph remained uncontradicted; and, therefore, it was contradicted. It had overshot its mark; it was too broad and too boasting; and, therefore, it could not remain uncontradicted.

But, in spite of all this, there are the deluded Catholics of Ireland, firmly believing that they have a fast friend in Mr. CANNING, and adding to that the "intense" and "super-human" belief that he is the great ruler of the Cabinet; and, of course, that he will restore prosperity to Ireland, by a munificent distribution of silk gowns and patents of precedence.

As to the real state of the case, as far as relates to the power of Mr. CANNING, I know no one creature that knows any Minister, or any clerk of any Minister, or any crony of any Minister's clerk. I never see any body, that I know of, that ever goes nearer to Whitehall than Charing Cross. I never ask about, and I never hear about, anything that is a secret to any one shopkeeper in London. But I know, whether I am gardening at Kensington, or riding about the country; I always know, and have pretty long known, a pretty deal about the interest of those who really govern this country. I know that these are men that have immense estates; that it is their interest that such a system should be pursued as will preserve those estates, and preserve the power that the possessors have hitherto had. I know that these powerful men are in general much too wise to dabble in politics themselves, that, indeed they know little about politics; but that they know very well whom to trust in to manage their affairs; and I am very certain that they will never trust those affairs to hunters after popularity by "*liberal speeches*" full of flattery to Cotton Lords and Stock-Jobbers. We saw, and perhaps we shall again see, on the ques-

tion of the Corn Bill, that the apostles of liberality will be driven off like chaff before the wind. I saw quite enough last year to convince me that the owners of the land were determined not to be again made the sport of this sect of newly-enlightened liberals; and, one would think that Big O saw enough to convince any man in his senses that Mr. CANNING, and "his friends in the Cabinet," have very little power. It was fine doings, as long as the Catholic Bill was in the lower House, and while even those who voted for it, were well convinced that it was waste paper. There Mr. CANNING was a brilliant star indeed; but, when the Bill got to the upper regions, down dropped the star, not leaving a twinkle equal to that of a farthing rushlight. It was just the same with the Game Bill; all was liberality, and we were, all at once, going to see the stock-jobbers popping about the country like so many American light-infantry; five sentences from LORD WESTMORLAND, who had not, I believe, opened his mouth in the House for twenty years, blew this offspring of liberality, of nonsense, and really of revolution, as his Lordship said it was, to the winds.

It is a great unhappiness to Ireland; to the Protestants as well as to the Catholics (for, in fact, all suffer together), that those whom they choose for their leaders and advocates are, perhaps, of all the men in the world, those that they should not choose; that they crawl to these in the most suppliant manner; that they bepraise most "*intensely*" these men who have no power at all, while they speak in the most contemptuous manner, while they revile in the most opprobrious terms, all those who really have power. What, for instance, can possess that "super-human" and "intense" Big O to think that he is advancing the cause of Catholic Emancipation by laying foul, backstroke and forestroke, of the Lord Chancellor, when, if he had only a quarter part of that portion of common sense which is possessed by almost every tradesman in London, he would know, that a camel can much easier pass through the eye of a needle, than, in the present state of things, emancipation can be obtained, without the hearty concurrence first obtained of that very Lord Chancellor, who has with him all the Church, to begin with, and then, four-fifths, at the least, of the Nobility and of the Commoners of great estates?

What, short of something approaching very nearly to madness, could have induced men to believe that that Lord Chancellor, and that that Ministry, indeed, would ever consent to let the Catholics be what was called emancipated, by other persons than themselves; *by their opponents*, too, and by a Bill brought in by SIR FRANCIS BURDETT? A petition, indeed, might, provided he could be prevailed upon to do his duty by it, have been very judiciously committed to his hands; but a *Bill*, "*an Emancipation*," of which *he* was to have the merit! Could any man in his senses believe that the Ministers were going to do such a thing? Yet, there was that Counsellor BRICK, in spite of all remonstrances, bleating away in his paragraphs sent to Dublin; and there was Big O, in his letters to the dying association, calling upon the people of that deluded country to put up hosannas of praise to SIR FRANCIS BURDETT for having, at last, accomplished their emancipation! But the credulity discovered by these persons upon this occasion, surpasses all expression, and, were they not notorious, would surpass all belief. It must be confessed, however, that the game which Mr. BROUGHAM and some others play

in the House of Commons, is not altogether badly calculated for fostering this delusion about the great influence of Mr. CANNING, and the little influence of the Lord Chancellor. I laugh at their continual compliments to the former; their incessant praises of his and Mr. Huskisson's liberality; their admiration of the superior and "*intense intellect*," as Big O would call it, of these two gentlemen; the contrasts which they draw between their "*enlightened minds*," and the dull, formal, plodding, horse-in-a-mill "*prejudices*" and "*bigotry*" of the Lord Chancellor. I laugh at all these vain attempts to urge Messrs. CANNING and HUSKISSON to oppose the LORD CHANCELLOR boldly, and to appeal to the enlightened mind of the country, as they call it, against this plodding and immoveable old man. I laugh at all this, because I know, that if the liberal gentlemen were to make such an appeal once, or even to attempt it, or talk of it, they must take their stations on the other side of the House, or, which is by no means impossible, go out of it altogether, and never be more heard of, except I, out of mere charity, were to take it into my "*liberal*" head to hook them into a comedy.

But, though I laugh at all these petty manœuvres, and though I laugh when I hear Mr. BROUGHAM, after a volume of sarcasms upon the Lord Chancellor, turn round and almost smother the two Right Honourable gentlemen, whom he "*almost calls his right honourable friends*;"—when I hear him inflicting this heap of praises upon them, and fancy that I see them enduring it with all the fortitude and serenity of suffering political saints, to whom the Paradise of power and title is just throwing wide its gates; when I hear and see, or think I see, all this, I laugh; but not so with the public in general. To a certain extent, it produces an impression upon them; and this impression is greatly added to by the puffing paragraphs, artfully circulated through the means of reporters and other such agents belonging to "*the best public instructor*." So that there has been a pretty general belief that there is a *great division in the Cabinet*, when, in fact and in effect, there is, as to all great measures, *no division at all*. And this is a thing which the public should know and should constantly bear in mind. However, to *reason* with such people as Big O and his followers, is altogether useless. They will

believe what they will believe, and the more contrary it is to reason, the more firmly will they believe it; so that they must be left to take their own course.

THE OLD LADY.

THIS is the dame that troubles the ministry. One single hair of her head weighs more than the bodies of Mr. CANNING and Mr. HUSKISSON both put together. She must, in all human probability, be once again placed in a state of *restraint*; or wheat must come again to four shillings a bushel, which latter will never again be, without an "*equitable adjustment*." This is the dilemma; which of its horns the Ministers will choose to hang upon (I mean with their hands) no man can yet tell, because they themselves do not yet know. Yet, I think, that, one may guess, that they never will be permitted to choose (for there is a power still higher than them) to bring wheat back to four shillings a bushel without a reduction of the interest of the debt.

The Old Lady continues, like poor Cowhide in the play, to be in a very qualmish state. Her

pulse, some little time ago, rose up to 88 and a fraction; but it has since fallen to 87 and a fraction, and is now vibrating between the two. For about a month she has not felt (apparently at least) any *fit* of gripes; but, these fits may and must return; and the next fit may, perhaps, bring her pulse down to a low state, indeed, and bring the lady herself to death's door.

In the mean while, a certain collateral branch of her, I mean the Spanish Bonds (my old friends), seem to be in a most desperate way. Their pulse was once up to 80 or 90, I believe. I know they were up to 75, and now they are fallen down to 16 or 17! And here I call upon the readers of the *Register* to remember what infinite pains I took to warn people against the ruin which these bonds would occasion, and what infinite pains was taken by the whole of the broad sheets, Mr. BROUGHAM's best public instructors, to prevent the success of my pains. There never was any thing so flagitious, even in the conduct of the broad sheet itself, as the use which it made of its columns upon this occasion. I exhorted people not to buy the bonds. I exhorted fathers and mothers, if they had the bonds, to get rid of them to the

jobbers. I did this when they were at 75. I kept doing it all the way down to twenty-one. I always said that they would finally sink to nothing, and the infamous broad sheet, and "best possible public instructor," as perseveringly kept on saying precisely the contrary. I related an account, after they got to twenty-one, of an unfortunate gentleman who came to me to ask my advice; that I had advised him to sell immediately; that he told me that, if he did that his poor daughters, for whom he had provided a decent competence, would be reduced to have but very little, that I told him that very little was still better than nothing; and that, therefore, if he did love his children, he ought, at once, to secure them that little.

I never shall forget how he cursed the newspapers (Mr. BROUGHAM's "best possible public instructor," mind), for having stripped him of his fortune. I explained to him how absurd it was to suppose, that, even if the King of Spain had the ability to pay, that he would be suffered to pay, by those allied powers which had caused the counter-revolution, whose great object was to prevent further revolutions, and who must see that they never could be free from revolutions, as long as there

were Jews and jobbers upon earth, and as long as restored sovereigns acknowledged and paid the debts that might be contracted by revolutionizing subjects, for the purpose of effecting revolutions. In short, there was every reason that could suggest itself to the mind of a rational man against the probability of these bonds ever being discharged, and yet "the best public instructor" in this whole world, kept bellowing away, that the bonds would be paid, and kept on inducing deluded people to purchase and to hold them. They will, finally, not be worth one single farthing in the hundred pound, and even after that, there will be somebody found to gamble in them, as there were persons found to purchase the American continental paper-money, which was continued to be issued by the *quire*, as long as it would yield one copper penny a *quire* more than the cost of the paper and print. There are persons in America who keep whole reams of this paper-money to this hour; and, not long before I was there, in 1792, people had threaded the sheets upon strings, and stretched the strings across the roads, from post-and-rail fence to post-and-rail fence, for the Congress-men to see as they rode to Philadel-

phia. The Spanish-bond holders will hardly take the trouble to go to Spain for such a purpose as this. If they do, they will see the Spanish nobles laughing at the exhibition as the Congress-men did. But there (in America) the owners of the paper were not in want, and the bubble went off while all were in good humour. *Here* the thing would be different; and that the Ministers, whatever else they may be deficient in, know full well.

Amongst other curious features of the present pecuniary affairs of the country, is, *the Bank lending money upon mortgage*; that is to say, taking the title-deeds of noblemen's and gentlemen's estates, and giving them paper in exchange. Now, if the Bank, which has every thing in its power, as to value of money, were to raise that value so as to make the mortgage which now, perhaps, extends to the worth of only half the estate, extend to the worth of the whole of it; what would then become of the mortgages? By dint of a very heavy beating, by dint of a very "*liberal*" use of my hickory mallet and cold chisel (such as I advised Mr. LAWLESS to use upon BRICK), I have, at last, made such an impression even upon the skulls of the "best public in-

structers," as to cause them to perceive that there is some danger in a company of merchants being able to raise and to lower the value of the whole country's money at their pleasure. But, though I have malleted some sense into them, I have not succeeded, as, indeed, I did not expect to succeed, in malleting one grain of honesty into them. They, therefore, now put forth, as a discovery of their own, what I have so long been preaching, and apparently to deaf adders, about the flagrant injustice, and still more flagrant impolicy, of placing in the hands of a company of merchants, the power of raising and lowering the value of money at their pleasure, and thus of enriching or ruining, at their pleasure, whole classes of the community; causing all existing contracts for time to be violated; and inflicting, upon the king's subjects, injuries of a magnitude indiscribable; and, at the same time, constantly exposing his Government, and even his crown itself, to peril of subversion.

They have now put forth this as a discovery of their own. No matter. It is a great point gained. Into their skulls sense comes after it has entered every other skull. Nothing was ever more truly said,

than that which I heard a gentleman once say of them; that they are the advanced guard of folly, and the rear guard of sense. However, their present conduct in this respect must be seen with the more satisfaction; because it justifies us in coming to the conclusion that every man of common sense now sees the great and intrinsic and unavoidable dangers of this infernal system; and the whole people cannot long see this, without producing some radical change of that system. My belief is that the landowners have long seen it; that, in the year 1822, they arrived at complete conviction upon the subject; and that they are all, except the mere idiots amongst them, resolved that this system shall not completely take away their estates. And who can have the smallest doubt that they would not suffer the Bank, by again raising the value of money, to foreclose upon them, and to take double the amount of that which they had lent?

These *lendings* of the Bank upon mortgage forces upon our recollection the lendings of a bank of Pennsylvania, established at the recommendation of Dr. FRANKLIN and Mr. PAINE. The Province had declared itself to be a state, and an independent

state; but it had yet to fight for it, to fight there must be an army, to have an army, there must be money; and not one penny had the state, and not one penny could it borrow. In this situation of things, Dr. FRANKLIN and PAINE held a consultation as to what was to be done; and, as PAINE relates the story, the Doctor, after a long silence, taking the segar from his mouth, said, "But, PAINE, though we are too poor to borrow, we may not be too poor to lend." This was like touching the trigger of a fountain, forth sallied a torrent of brilliant ideas. They founded a bank; they lent money upon mortgage; thousands, no one of whom would lend them a farthing, were ready enough to borrow; they filled the state with their paper-money; they got the reputation of having landed securities; they then borrowed their own paper upon those securities; bought goods with their paper-money besides; they raised their army; they paid it; no states surpassed Pennsylvania in contributions; and none surpassed her in any of those efforts which led to the great result. The paper-money, indeed, was, at last, strung upon strings across the highway; but, before it was come

to that state, it had shifted the real property of the people three or four times from hand to hand, and had effaced, for ever, thousands and thousands of families that once carried their heads high in the world.

The newspapers, in talking of *foreign* stocks, have special care never to include the French, which never fall, and that is one of the ugliest circumstances appertaining to the concern at the present moment. By foreign funds, and the "foreign market," they always mean the Columbian, and Mexican, and Brazilian, and Pasco-Peruvian. These all keep declining in price, and my firm belief is, that they will all end precisely in the same manner as the Spanish bonds. There are thousands of persons who have deposited pretty nearly their all in this species of *security*, as it is called. They have been induced to do this by the jobbers who hire paragraphs in the newspapers, and who thus cheat people out of their money, it being as real a cheat as ever was practised in the world. I remember when the *Morning Chronicle*, in particular, congratulated the country on the loans to the Cortes of Spain, saying that it was an advantageous mode of employing the surplus

capital of the country. The fact is, that a million or two in amount, (I don't know that it is not more,) of English goods, of one sort and another, were sent to Spain. These were bought in England, and paid for with the money that arose from the loans. Oh! Oh! here was a double advantage, said the *Chronicle*. Here is surplus capital getting a high interest to the lenders of the money. Here are manufacturers and merchants getting a large profit upon the goods. Here are all this interest, and all these profits, drawn from Spain to England. True, the manufacturers and merchants got a profit upon the goods; but the bonds are gone to the devil (from whom they came); the lenders of the money will have neither interest nor principal; the Cortes got the goods; Spain gained them; she had them for nothing; and England, bating the profits of the manufacturers and merchants, is so much the worse by the whole of the amount; and this is employing to advantage the surplus capital of the empire!

This, however, will not stop here. My real opinion is, that all the goods sent to South America and to Mexico will be a dead loss also. Perhaps my wishes may a little bias my judgment

here; but, so it was in the case of the Spanish bonds. I always wished that not a farthing of interest or principal might be paid upon them, and such is my wish still. I never could wish that the convents and all the church property of Spain, should, under the name of giving liberty to the people, be taken from the poor of Spain, who enjoyed so large a part of them, and made over to those abominable criminals, those execrable monsters, those corrupt, deceitful, merciless villains, the Jews and jobbers of London. The *Morning Chronicle*, and all the rest of the daily papers, indeed, take great delight in giving us accounts of the immense numbers of the clergy and of the nuns in Spain. They represent their riches as enormous. I have before me now, an article of the *Chronicle*, from which I will take an extract. The reader will see a most formidable account; but when he has read the extract, I shall beg him to have the goodness to hear me for a minute or two. The extract is as follows:

"The immense influence possessed by a body, thus organised, over such a people as the Spaniards, may be easily conceived, when it is recollected that, according to a census made in 1803, the population of Spain

"and her insular dependencies
 "was found to be 10,351,075
 "souls, and from the same data,
 "on an average, it resulted that
 "for every 5914 persons there
 "were 100 clergymen, friars,
 "monks or nuns. Spain also
 "contains eight archbishoprics,
 "fifty-one bishoprics, sixty-one
 "cathedrals, and 114 collegiate
 "churches, or principal abbeys,
 "having a jurisdiction nearly
 "episcopal. On a moderate cal-
 "culation, the Clergy, secular
 "and regular, *possess one-third of*
 "*the entire riches of Spain*, and
 "as regards the labours of the
 "Junta above described, we must
 "add a large portion of the wealth
 "of the Nobles, sworn to the same
 "cause. Besides those above
 "enumerated, there are the Bi-
 "shoprics of Leon and Oviedo, in
 "addition to two other Bishops,
 "one in the convent of St. Mark,
 "in Leon, and another in Uccles,
 "both belonging to the Military
 "Order of Santiago, which, toge-
 "ther with the other three Orders
 "of Alcantara, Calatrava, and
 "Montesa, have a yearly income
 "of upwards of twenty millions
 "of rials, distributed among the
 "members of the Royal Family
 "and certain Generals and Admi-
 "rals, mostly members of the
 "Apostolic Junta. The immense
 "influence and wealth of the
 "Apostolic Junta in Spain, and
 "we may add in Portugal, may
 "therefore easily be imagined—
 "of its extensive labours we have
 "hitherto only seen a partial re-
 "sult."

Oh, Lord! What a horrible
 affair this is. What a horribly
 oppressed people these Spaniards

must be. Here is one clergyman,
 or one nun to every 59 persons.
 This must be a terrible calamity,
 to be sure. It is a fact, that I am
 sure Doctor Black will not deny,
 that the common people in Spain
 are better off, and, for ages, have
 been *better off*, than the common
 people of any other country of
 Europe. Not better off than the
 English were before the "*Re-*
 "*formation*"; but a great deal bet-
 ter off than the English are now.
 I challenge Dr. Black to deny
 this; and, if the Doctor cannot
 deny this, why should he think
 that the common people of Spain
 are brutes because they like this
 state of things? I ask him again,
 why he should wish to change this
 state of things in Spain? I ask
 him upon what principle it is, that
 he would think it humane to change
 a system productive of such ef-
 fects. However, let us examine
 a little this formidable array of
 figures. He tells us that there is
 one clergyman, including, you
 will observe, the nuns, as well as
 the men, to every 59 persons.
 Now let us see how this matter
 stands in England. I fancy the
 Doctor little imagines how the
 fact really is in this respect. We
 have, in England and Wales,
 taking them in round numbers,
 ten millions of people. We have

eleven thousand six hundred church livings. So that we have only eleven thousand six hundred clergymen for all these ten millions of people. Let the Prebends and Deans and Bishops, and all the people at the colleges. Let all these go to make up for the deficiency on account of pluralities. But stop a little before we come to the comparison; before we decide that we have so few Church people to live upon the fat of the land, compared to those in Spain. Stop a little, for each of our Parsons has a *wife and a parcel of children* to live upon the fat of the land in England, and have nothing to give away, nothing to share with the people, as the unmarried clergy of Spain have. Reckon the English parson then, if you please, Dr. Black, to be five, in place of one; and it is but a small family which has checked its population enough to confine itself to five children. So then, you will find that we have 53,000 parsons, he's, she's, and young ones. Divide the ten millions by that, and you will find that we have one parson male, female, or young one, one clerical mouth to feed upon the fat of the land, to every one hundred and seventy-two persons in the whole kingdom of England

and Wales. Then, we have not yet half done; for there are all the Methodist Parsons, all the Presbyterians, all the Unitarians, all the Baptists, all the Anabaptists, all the Independants, all the Universalists; all the Quaker Preachers, too, for they put the congregations to expense for houses to meet in, and all the various mongrel sects, which, upon an average, make one to every parish throughout the kingdom. These all marry. Then there are all the Missionary fellows, and their tribes of wives and children, surpassing altogether, and very far surpassing, the he's, she's, and young ones of the Established Church. Take then the 172 and divide it by two, and we have one devourer on account of religion to every eighty-six persons. I have not yet mentioned the *Catholic Priests* in England and Wales; and, indeed, I shall make no account of them under this head of charge; for, though they must eat and drink like other people (only not quite so much), they have no wives and no children.

Very well, then; suppose this Spanish account, as published by Dr. Black, to be true, the religion of Spain furnishes one eater to every 59 souls, and that of England, one to every 86 souls. But

Dr. Black includes, in these eaters of Spain, the friars and nuns. The friars make a very considerable portion of those whom he calls clergy. These are all poor men. Many of them, as well as of the monks and nuns, never taste meat of any sort; and many of the friars work as hard as most labouring men. A considerable part of the nuns devote their whole lives to the care of the *sick poor*. Another considerable part of them devote their lives to the teaching of children, *gratis*, all sorts of needle work. The clergy amongst them are the only schoolmasters in the country. Take all these things into your head, Dr. BLACK, and you will find, I believe, that the carrying on of religion in England and Wales costs the nation a vast deal more than it costs the nation in Spain, where the population, according to your account, is much about what it is here.

Now then, Doctor, as to this third part of the "*entire*" *riches of Spain*. The monks and nuns and bishops possess, you say, this one third. Now mind, there are no *poor-rates* in Spain; necessitous persons are wholly maintained out of the revenues of the church. Give them credit, then, for six millions of pounds sterling

a year, if you please, on that account; and then, unless you can show, that hospitality and charity are not better than poor-rates and the tread-mill; unless you can show, that the latter are so much better than the former that they are worth a bloody civil war to effect the change; unless you can show that English pauperism and misery are better than the ease and happiness enjoyed by the people of Spain, you will, I hope, join me, Doctor Black, in rejoicing that the church property of that country was not transferred to the infamous Jews and jobbers of London.

Leaving the Doctor to answer me at his leisure, or to find leisure to laugh at me, as poor Big O says, I now dismiss the Old Lady's affairs for the present, with expressing my decided opinion that those affairs will come to something pretty nearly like a close before many more months have passed over our heads.

FOREST TREES.

I HAVE told several correspondents that I will this week publish an account of my trees and their prices. I have neither time nor room now to do it to my mind, and, therefore, I must postpone it till next week.

PETER MACCULLOCH.

I last week gave my readers a view of Peter, or J. A., or whatever else his name is. I showed what a pretty gentleman this was to be brought forth as a political doctor to instruct legislators, and to make a London University. His evidence before the House of Commons has caused him to be prettily shown up by two of the Dublin newspapers. Another Irish paper, *The Irishman*, has brought me a letter from Mr. ENSOR, who has taken this political Doctor up upon his doctrine that absenteeism produces no evil. A great part of the London broad sheet has joined in the laugh at the political quack; so that the House of Commons will soon have him all to themselves, and may print his paradoxical trash at their leisure, but unfortunately at our expense. I shall now insert the letter of Mr. ENSOR, which I recommend to the careful perusal of my readers.

MR. ENSOR, MR. MACCULLOCH,
AND THE NEW SCHOOL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Since the days of Duns Scotus, surnamed Doctor Subtilis, some Scotchmen have been celebrated for dialectics and paradoxes. Some of them invented, some

pushed the extravagance of others to whimsical excess. Berkeley argued there was no matter; Hume that there were no ideas, the Scotch philosopher transcended the Irish Bishop.—But this was a casual impertinence; not so Scholastic Divinity, (of which the Scotch *Duns* was the father,) and modern Political Economy. The latter aims at a dominion over the intelligence of the world, by the same means that Scholastic Divinity triumphed during the middle ages—it possesses its big books and little books; its reviews and journals; its missionaries; its professors and lecturers, who furnish arguments by the score; or by the hundred, as did Doctor Subtilis. In fact, the greatest difference between the two schools is, that the old Scholastics argued without facts, and the new Economists argued in opposition to them.

The origin of this school is curious. Reformation, in consequence of the French Revolution, re-produced the doctrines of perfectibility. Mr. Godwin, among some loose essays, advocated the same opinion. An extreme has always its re-action; scarcely had Belzoni stated that the plague could be communicated to a whole country by a piece of thread blown by the wind, (*Researches*, v. 1, p. 4,) than we had publications and evidence, proving that the plague is in no instance contagious. So of other things—caloric had been in vogue as the great principle, when Monsieur Bres stood up for the frigorific; so of the sun, time out of mind it was considered a fiery body; no, says Dr. Herschell, it is an opaque body; and Charles Palmer, gent., insists that the sun is ice!

Thus the perfectibility of Mr. GODWIN threw Mr. MALTHUS into the opposite extreme, and he met perfectibility by the necessity of vice and misery to thin mankind; which doctrine he supported by his principle of population and his ratios, geometric and arithmetical. This doctrine had other causes to win it a favourable hearing—it was extreme in another sense; population had been considered riches—Mr. Malthus considered them poverty; and the poor-rates were increasing with the war! he also abused* the people largely, referring all their distress to their own thoughtless over-breeding; he told them, and tells them, that they are the arbiters of their own fortune, and he seasoned the whole mass with that potential condiment, vilification of the Irish, their *ignorance and barbarism, their degraded state, their total want of that decent pride*. This is the

—baboon's blood
Which makes the charm firm and good.

Mr. Malthus enunciated his principle of population, "that man has a tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence;" and to substantiate this, he referred all poverty arising from all accidents and events, to overbreeding; he referred all premature deaths to the same heedless procreation, not remarking that the very opulent, to whom more minister than God intended—who have two nur-

* This is the cant of all the Malthusians.—The Scotchman, MILL, refers all these "*evils to a redundant population, which, they say, is to be expected from the deplorable ignorance of the people*. To correct this, the Malthusians propose to teach the people, that they should not breed, as this would increase competitors for wages.—Now are they not controlled by the difficulty to rear those labourers?

ses, who are attended with a faculty of physicians, who are fed with food of all regions, who command an endless retinue by sea and land to enjoy the same warm air throughout the year, anticipating the sun in its course—perish prematurely. Heedless or ignorant also is Mr. Malthus, that man is subject to many natural disorders in infancy—that the great epidemics appear at precise periods in the year in different nations, and that at larger intervals still greater revolutions abridge life and reduce the people, against which no providence can provide, as the evils afford no prognostics. The philosophy of Mr. Malthus would bring deluges within the evils of over-breeding. How many again perish by empirics and false theories, which some have considered more mortal than epidemics themselves? and how many have their health impaired and their lives shortened, by drunkenness, idleness, extravagance, and their families beggared, with wars and conquests? That over-breeding occasions misery, I freely admit, and it sends many to an early grave; but it is not the sole cause of evil, nor do I believe it is the principle; it is one of many, and may be classed under IMPRUDENCE.

Yet, we are perpetually stunned by Mr. Malthus and his followers, with the tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence. "Tendency is a ductile term," and here again the Economists imitate the scholastics—tendency is a chosen word in our law, and it is used to ground the crime of libel; libel is an offence, say the lawyers, because it *tends to a breach of the*

peace; and I find Monsieur Bel-lart, the French Attorney-General, is now prosecuting some Journalists in Paris, because such and such writings have a certain *tendance*.

If the doctrine of perfectibility was a cup of old sack to the visionaries, the principle of population was the repeated dose which fixes dejection—the only remedy being, according to Mr. Malthus, to his principle of population, vice and misery. His essay might have been preceded by Dibdin's song, "Let us all be unhappy together." Yet this was the discovery professedly false, besides the acknowledged inhumanity of some of the accompanying observations which was so admired that it distributed two editions among the aspirants of the new school of Political Economy. False it was, for the Rev. Mr. Malthus, being a Clergyman of the Church established by law, some how found out that *vice and misery* were sad remedies to correct evils in this world, formed and sustained by God. He then admitted *moral restraint* as conjunct in the operation. Still the Malthusians admired the great man, though he proved to them, by this superadded remedy, that he had been ignorant and they duped.

At last the Rev. Mr. Malthus published his Essay on the Principles of Political Economy, which was in fact a diatribe against Mr. Ricardo's work, in which, however, Mr. Ricardo lauded Mr. Malthus to the stars. In the latter essay, Mr. Malthus, in vengeance of his devotees, renewed the doctrine of the principle of population: in that he argued the tendency of population to increase faster than

subsistence; in the other, he argued that "the productive classes have the power of consuming all that they produce; but it is found by experience, that though they may have the power, there is not the will, and it is to supply this will, that a body of unproductive consumers is necessary." (Principles of Polit. Econ. p. 439.) After these repeated blunders and contradictions, the Malthusians doted on; it is the sin of FANATICS and PARTISANS that *as the reasons diminish their admiration increases*. Indeed contradictions are characteristic of the new school of Political Economy; for not only each contradicts himself, but they contradict each other on points which any two men, not involved in a false nomenclature and scraggy metaphysics would not contest for an instant.

But of all the proficient of the new school, Mr. Macculloch is the most malapert and surprising. Protens among his calves in the Carpathian Sea, was not more multiform than he; Editor of the *Scotsman*, he pours forth his paragraphs, in endless repetition, on Political Economy; perpetual contributor in the *Edinburgh Review*; writer in the Supplement of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; Lecturer on Political Economy in Edinburgh; Ricardo Lecturer in Westminster; Lecturer in London; Historian of the Rise and Progress of Political Economy; and Examine extraordinary before a select party of the collective wisdom of the nation! Then he is praised till the sonnets which used to preface our elder authors are nought. The Reviews officiate, on this occasion, as the water poets did formerly. The *Edinburgh*

Review says of him, "the Editor (of the *Scotsman*) may be said to be a king of it," (Political Economy,) May, 1823, p. 366. While the last number (7) of the *Westminster Review*, after heaping on him *profound knowledge, uncommon skill, complete mastery, apostolic zeal*, all in one sentence, concludes, "what other qualities can be required to entitle a man to the character of a perfect teacher," p. 90. Yet I doubt, if all this praise will support Mr. Macculloch. Indeed there does not seem any disposition to break the fall of the Lecturer and Professor, or help his retreat under a false fire. To be sure the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 16th instant, introduces a letter from a gentleman, and it is a pity that so extraordinary a personage, as the *Chronicle* intimates he is, did not help his suggestions by his name. This "Great Unknown" signs himself J. S. Another, in a subsequent *Chronicle*, who lays claim to only one letter of the alphabet, signs himself P. If he is not Mr. J. R. Macculloch himself, he would believe anything, if Mr. Macculloch said "believe." Let this man lie over till he obtains another letter to his designation. But as to J. S. he does any thing but justify Mr. Macculloch's notions about absentees; for, at once, he admits, that in hiring all sorts of labourers, &c. the Irish resident, and the Irish absentee entirely differ in respect to Ireland.

With these exceptions, all the A's* and O's and P's are opposed

* J. W. C., in the *Chronicle*, September 23, thinks, if God would inflict barrenness on all Irish women, it would have a fine political economical effect.

to Mr. Macculloch; and, what is much more, all those who have an interest and a name to lose have declared against the Lecturer. The Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* has, in several paragraphs, exposed the monstrous absurdity of Mr. Macculloch, "that the income of a landlord, when he is an absentee, is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it." But then, by way of qualification, he talks of the ridiculous notions of the Irish respecting absentees, seasoning, according to the English taste, the *farrago libelli* with such remarks as, "the great difficulty is with those who are already in the lowest stage of existence; a people, yet a stranger to civilization, such as the Irish."—Sept. 15. Mark you, Irish, your friend, the *Morning Chronicle*, places you on the lowest stage of existence. Yet I forgive the *Chronicle* that abuse of Ireland, and almost its advocating the sacrifice of the Forty-shilling Freeholders, in consideration of the following observation on the 20th inst.:—"THE GRANDEVIL IS THE ENGLISH CONNEXION AND THE APPLICATION OF ENGLISH POWER TO THE COERCION OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE SUPPORT OF A VICIOUS STATE OF SOCIETY, WHICH WOULD OF ITSELF HAVE FALLEN TO PIECES LONG AGO."

If the *Morning Chronicle* has pursued Mr. Macculloch at considerable length, the *Globe* has made short work with him and his school. "Mr. Macculloch falls into a common error of the Ricardo school, namely, that of arguing from half the facts of a case, and erecting a general principle on a partial analysis"—and having exposed his error, the *Globe* con-

cludes, "in his evidence on Irish affairs, Mr. Macculloch is decidedly in error." The *Morning Herald* also has done its duty to Ireland and to common sense. Yet no one has contemplated, as far as I have read, the extent of Mr. Macculloch's error; it is not merely that it is indifferent where rents are expended, in London, or Paris, or the Antipodes, but by his reflections on the landlords of *civilized* Scotland, it is a gain to tenants, equal to a higher rent, to be exonerated from the presence and home expenditure of their landlords. He also considers remittances to absentees as the sole cause of foreign traffic; for he says, supposing the rents paid to absentees were paid to resident proprietors, "the foreign trade of Ireland would be diminished to that amount"—which supposes, among other suppositions, that a resident Irishman consumes solely Irish produce; for if he believes that those absentees, if residing in Ireland, should live in Ireland as they do in England, that is, drink wine and tea, use sugar, wear the finer cloths, &c., it is certain, so far as they used foreign produce, they must have a foreign trade, as by no other means could Ireland obtain these foreign commodities.

We shall dismiss this super-induced blunder, and consider the original extravagance, that "the income of a landlord, when he is an absentee, is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it." To expose this we shall abandon the technical for the natural order, and consider the operation in its elements. Suppose rent paid in kind, a proprietor becomes an ab-

sentee—the rent which was paid in Ireland is received in England, with a loss, however, to the expense occasioned by the longer transfer. In this case, and considering a single transaction, the tenant may not pay more, but the landlord would receive less, and the absentee landlord will continue to receive less, though the reduction is greatly diminished, even in the present day. It is obvious that this transmission of rent does not imply any trade; it excludes it; nothing is returned—nothing can be returned, for the rent is the payment of a debt; nor can rent, as transferred from country to country, ever be foreign trade; it may and does occasion domestic barter when the tenant-nation is collecting those commodities for rent that are most convenient to it to pay to the landlord-nation; but rent, notwithstanding the multiplicity of relations, and the involved nature of commerce in modern times, never can make a considerable part of foreign commerce, much less be the whole; for I repeat, rent is the payment of a debt incurred by contract, and being paid to a foreign country, does not return even the landlord's receipt, that being granted in Ireland by deputation.

We have now spoken of two parties, the tenant and the landlord; and this only of the operation of absenteeism, on paying a single rent—but there is another party, and not a few, namely, all the tradesmen, shopkeepers, labourers, that the landlord employs, when a resident in Ireland; and again, all those whom these different classes, in consequence of the employment by the landlord,

also employ. What becomes of them in the transfer of the Irish landlord to London? All those whom he employs in London, and who give additional employment to others in consequence, obtain a corresponding good; and those in Ireland, who lose his employment, suffer a corresponding injury—that is, industry and art are repressed in Ireland in proportion as they are advanced in England by the absenteeism of the Irish.

Having considered this as a single act, in a single year, what must be the effect of this process of transmitting rents to multitudes, and for millions, for a long succession of years? Exactly what has happened—that labour of all kinds is starved in Ireland—that manufactures are prevented from increasing and improving. This is British policy to all her colonies, and fearfully has she evinced this to Ireland.

Mr. Ledwich, in his Statistical Account of the parish of Aghaboe, says, “England, in the administration of Lord Strafford, showed symptoms of jealousy at our advancement in the woollen manufacture, but it was not before the year 1699 that the Bill, restraining us in this branch, passed the English Parliament. The town of Burros, and indeed the whole parish, were filled with combers and weavers, and after the passing of this Act, they converted their property into money, and became farmers.” If men are not allowed to manufacture, they must have recourse to tillage; and as this flagitious law converted weavers into land-labourers, to the injury of manufactures, and to the inconvenience of persons occupied

in tillage, the policy of England, and its consequence—absenteeism, arrest manufactures and multiply the people on the soil. It tends to make Ireland stand, in relation to England, as the *out-field* to the *in-field*, and to force the people into the situation of serfs.

Another and most important consideration offers, on the effect of rent transferred by absenteeism. Rent is considered, by our Political Economists, only as income spent; but it may, and often does, by saving, become capital, and capital can only be accumulated by income saved; now, though rent transferred may not exhaust capital when it is properly apportioned, it prevents its increase. Thus, then, by the Irish absentees, three or four millions of the produce of the country is, by its foreign transmission, excluded necessarily from increasing the capital of the country; and thus, to this mighty extent every thing on which national wealth operates—improvements in agriculture, in manufactures, in machinery, in the wages and comforts of the industrious—are stunted and repressed. In this state people may increase so long as there is land to be laboured, but rich they shall never be.

Mr. Macculloch is so ignorant as to consider EXPORT as foreign trade; that absentees increase the export from Ireland is obvious; but if exports be trade, and indifferent subsidies paid to foreign nations are so, such also were the money, and provisions, and clothing sent to our army in Spain during the Peninsular war; these, as well as the grain paid by Britain to ancient Rome, as tribute, increased the exports, but not the

trade of England, for trade is not giving or taking, but exchanging. Now, so far from it being *the same* to Ireland whether Irish proprietors spend their incomes in Ireland or England, it is nearly a total loss to Ireland; for though absentees, by increasing the population of England, may thus increase the market for Irish produce, Irish produce expended, according to the reason of things, in supporting labourers, manufactures, and all corresponding modes of industry and ingenuity in Ireland, would have had the same effect, and in a direct and shorter time, with all the other advantages to labour and ingenuity from this natural process. I have said, that if Mr Macculloch is right in respect to his notions of absentee rents and foreign commerce, subsidies and tribute will bear the same interpretation; and I used the term *tribute*, not so much as illustrative as identical with an absentee rental; for the original cause of Irish absentees was the conquest of Ireland—these absentees, London companies, and English Lords, increasing by subsequent confiscations, increasing by the subordinancy of Ireland, as Temple calls Ireland's subjection, and finally, by the Union—a conquest by treachery, corruption, civil war and martial law, which ultimately has disinherited Ireland of her proprietary.

It is therefore obvious, that rents paid by Irish tenants to English landlords is, and in consequence, tribute from a subject to a dominant country. This is the true character of absenteeism; and what must be the state of that country when those who should be most interested for its prospe-

rity, who owe it all their opulence and power, live voluntary exiles from Ireland—a country second to none on earth, as made by God! Mark the contrast: in ancient times, and in free self-governing states, banishment was esteemed a lingering death, and quick dissolution was often preferred to such protracted affliction. But our Patriots—there is no other country except the slave islands of England, (for the slave islands of the other continental nations have numerous resident proprietors,) which counts so many absentee proprietors as Ireland; yet these, Mr. Macculloch intimates, are merchants wholly supporting the foreign trade of Ireland, adding, “that the income of a landlord when he is an absentee, is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it.” Thus the most unnatural state of society, or rather the severing and dissolution of society, occasioned by English misrule, is sanctioned by the great Scotch Professor of the new school of political economy, who also considers, as proof of the *barbarism* of the linen weavers of Ulster, that the healthful field draws them abroad from the house and loom during the most inviting seasons for out-door exercise. These are the doctrines of Mr. Macculloch, whom an Edinburgh Reviewer calls a *king* of political economy, and a Westminster Reviewer, a *perfect teacher!* This double eulogy places him in the rank of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, and pedagogue of Corinth.

GEORGE ENSOR.

Address, Sept. 27, 1825.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending September 24.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	63	10	Oats	25	5
Rye	41	7	Beans ...	45	2
Barley ..	41	2	Pease ...	52	2

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the Week ended September 24.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	41,044	Oats ...	22,206
Rye	421	Beans ...	2,846
Barley ..	15,610	Pease ...	1,553

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, September 24.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	5,640	for 18,640	11	2	Average, 66	1	
Barley..	2,969	.... 6,399	5	9	.....	43	1
Oats ..	8,116	.. 11,582	15	0	.....	28	6
Rye	10	.... 22	12	0	.....	45	2
Beans..	1,136	... 2,645	3	6	.....	46	6
Pease....	420	.... 1,130	10	6	.....	53	10

Friday, Sept. 30.—The wind having been favourable this week, has brought in a large number of vessels laden with all sorts of grain. Our Millers being in want of fine White Wheat, purchased such readily at Monday's prices, but all other

sorts were very dull and rather lower. Barley is very heavy in sale, and appears inclined to be cheaper. Beans are unaltered. Boiling Pease are 2s. to 3s. per quarter lower, and Grey Pease are also considered a trifle under Monday's currency. Oats are now getting plentiful, and are the turn cheaper.

Monday, Oct. 3.—The favourable state of the wind last week brought in a large arrival of nearly all sorts of Grain. This morning there is a moderate supply of Wheat, Barley, and Beans, from Essex and Kent, but not much fresh in from Suffolk and Norfolk; there are several more vessels arrived since Friday with Oats from the North, but not many from Ireland. Superfine samples of Wheat met a slow sale at the terms last quoted, but other qualities are so extremely heavy in disposal as to be unsaleable, without submitting to lower prices.

Barley is declined in value 1s. per quarter. Beans are 1s. per quarter cheaper. Boiling Pease are plentiful, and 8s. per quarter lower. Grey Pease are 2s. per quarter lower. Oats, unless very fine, are reduced 1s. per quarter. The flour trade has no alteration.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	.....	55s.	—	60s.
— Seconds	.....	52s.	—	54s.
— North Country	..	45s.	—	50s.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from Sept. 26 to Oct. 1, both inclusive.

Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat.. 12,511	Tares 100
Barley .. 8,155	Linseed .. 6,650
Malt.... 5,648	Rapeseed. 1,188
Oats 28,012	Brank .. 230
Beans ... 4,037	Mustard.. 15
Flour 14,348	Flax 165
Rye 30	Hemp ... —
Pease.... 3,723	Seeds ... 115

Foreign.—Wheat, 2,675; Barley, 7,550; Oats, 2,292; Beans, 153 quarters, and Flour, 260 barrels.

City, 5th Oct. 1825.

BACON.

Very little good Bacon on hand. Landed, 63s. to 65s.

BUTTER.

Carlow, 104s. to 105s. Waterford, 102s. Dutch, 106s. to 108s.

CHEESE.

No alteration in price since our last.

At Reading Fair, on the 21st Sep. the quantity of Cheese pitched was very considerable. The greater part was in the hands of Factors, who had been buying it up from the Dairymen at exorbitant prices, and withholding it from market, in the expectation of obtaining their own prices at this fair; and, as Cheese was much wanted in London, they would have obtained higher prices than they did, if they had been less exorbitant in their demands in the outset. They began by asking 80s. to 84s., for their best Double Cheese, but finding no buyers, they came down to 72s. 76s.

Monday, Oct. 3.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were 10,733 firkins of Butter, and 94 bales of Bacon; and from foreign ports 12,437 casks of Butter.

Price of Hops per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, Oct. 3.—The picking is now nearly finished, and in all quarters of Kent and Sussex the deficiency is great, from one third to one half; but fine New have come to market, the Planters wanting from 20l. to 24l. per cwt., and it is probable these prices will be maintained; good yearlings and old are now so much below their relative value that further advance may be expected. Duty 22,000l.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 3.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to 4	10
Mutton ...	4	4	— 5	0
Veal	5	0	— 6	6
Pork	5	4	— 6	4
Lamb	0	0	— 0	0
Beasts ... 2,917	|		Sheep ..	19,480
Calves ... 155	|		Pigs ...	120

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to 4	4
Mutton ...	3	8	— 4	8
Veal	4	4	— 6	4
Pork	4	8	— 6	8
Lamb	0	0	— 0	0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead):

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	2	to 4	0
Mutton ...	4	0	— 4	8
Veal	4	4	— 5	8
Pork	4	0	— 6	0
Lamb	3	8	— 5	8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£3 10 to 6 0
Middlings.....	2 10 — 3 0
Chats.....	2 10 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£4 10 to 5 10
Middlings.....	3 0 — 0 0
Chats.....	2 5 — 0 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....	63s. to 100s.
Straw...36s. to 45s.	
Clover.. 84s. to 120s.	
St. James's.—Hay....	70s. to 105s.
Straw...31s. to 45s.	
Clover.. 90s. to 120s.	
Whitechapel.—Hay....	70s. to 96s.
Straw...38s. to 44s.	
Clover.. 80s. to 120s.	

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 10½d. by the full-priced Bakers.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

	Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Beans.			Pease.		
	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.
Aylesbury	60	72	0	44	46	0	30	32	0	49	51	0	58	0	0
Baunbury	66	80	0	48	50	0	0	0	0	46	54	0	0	0	0
Basingstoke	60	76	0	38	45	0	24	28	0	57	60	0	0	0	0
Bridport.....	64	66	0	36	0	0	22	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chelmsford.....	60	76	0	38	44	0	27	38	0	40	42	0	44	60	0
Derby.....	68	76	0	36	54	0	27	33	0	50	56	0	0	0	0
Devizes.....	56	77	0	43	47	0	20	34	0	50	58	0	0	0	0
Dorchester.....	56	70	0	35	40	0	24	28	0	48	58	0	0	0	0
Exeter.....	68	74	0	48	52	0	24	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eye.....	56	68	0	34	42	0	26	30	0	36	44	0	40	43	0
Guildford.....	60	78	0	38	44	0	27	34	0	47	55	0	50	52	0
Henley.....	66	80	0	38	47	0	25	32	0	46	54	0	44	52	0
Horncastle.....	60	66	0	40	44	0	20	26	0	48	50	0	0	0	0
Hungerford.....	56	76	0	40	46	0	26	35	0	48	61	0	44	58	0
Lewes.....	54	60	0	40	42	0	24	26	0	44	0	0	0	0	0
Newbury.....	50	81	0	38	46	0	26	32	0	52	60	0	51	54	0
Newcastle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Northampton....	66	73	6	44	48	0	25	31	0	50	52	0	0	0	0
Nottingham	68	0	0	46	0	0	28	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
Reading.....	60	83	0	40	48	0	25	35	0	48	58	0	52	57	0
Stamford.....	61	74	0	42	47	0	25	28	0	48	49	0	0	0	0
Stowmarket	56	72	0	30	42	0	27	32	0	39	48	0	43	0	0
Swansea.....	68	0	0	37	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Truro.....	68	0	0	39	0	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uxbridge.....	66	86	0	40	46	0	26	33	0	48	52	0	50	53	0
Warminster.....	55	70	0	34	46	0	27	35	0	50	58	0	0	0	0
Winchester.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalkeith*	28	33	0	29	33	0	21	24	6	22	24	0	22	24	0
Haddington*	27	39	0	28	33	0	19	25	0	22	24	0	22	24	0

* Dalkeith and Haddington are given by the boll.—The Scotch boll for Wheat, Rye, Pease, and Beans, is three per cent. more than 4 bushels. The boll of Barley and Oats, is about 6 bushels Winchester, or as 6 to 8 compared with the English quarter.

Liverpool, Tuesday, Sept. 27.—The wind having been favourable within the few days past, has brought in a fair supply from Ireland of Wheat, as well as several arrivals from Canada and the Baltic; added to which, we have had a tolerable quantity of New Irish Oats. During the past week there was very little business done in any article of the Corn Trade. At the market of this day there was a tolerably fair demand for Old Wheat: New Wheat was taken off but sparingly, at late prices. The demand for Oats was limited, but Old ones obtained an advance of 1d. per 45 lbs., and New about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. upon the prices of this day se'nnight.

Imported into *Liverpool*, from the 20th to the 26th September, 1825, inclusive:—Wheat, 14,812; Barley, 518; Oats, 6,555; and Pease, 6 qrs. Flour, 284 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 451 packs, per 280 lbs. American Flour, 400 barrels.

Norwich, Oct. 1.—The supply of Wheat to day was tolerably good in quantity and quality, and Red sold from 58s. to 67s.; White, 70s. The quantity of Barley was not over large, prices 1s. per quarter less than last week, 36s. to 41s.; Oats, 28s. to 34s.; Beans, 38s. to 46s.; Pease, 38s. to 45s. per quarter; and Flour, 52s. to 55s. per sack.

Birmingham, Sept. 29.—Higher prices are demanded to day for fine Wheat; the quotations, however, of this day fortnight are not altered. Malt still continues a heavy sale, and the Malting Barley trade is not brisk, nor, indeed, is it for grinding qualities. Wheat, 8s. 6d. to 9s. per 60 lbs.; Malt, 70s. to 72s.; Malting Barley, 52s. to 54s.; Grinding ditto, 40s. to 42s. per ten scores; Oats, 28s. to 32s.; and Pease, 56s. to 64s. per qr.; Beans, 21s. to 22s. per ten scores. Fine Flour, 56s. to 57s.; and Second ditto, 52s. to 53s. per sack.

Ipswich, Oct. 14.—We had, to day, a pretty good supply of Corn. Barley was 1s. per quarter lower. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 60s. to 70s.; Barley, 38s. to 42s.; Beans, old, 42s. to 46s.; New, 42s. to 44s.; and Pease, 44s. to 46s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Oct. 1.—There was a fair supply of Wheat to-day, fine fully supported its price, second runs a trifle lower; every thing else much the same.—Red Wheat, 58s. to 62s.; fine, 66s.; White ditto, 64s. to 68s.; Oats, 22s. to 28s.; old, 30s. Beans, new, 40s., and old, 48s. per quarter.

Wakefield, Sept. 30.—There is again a large arrival of Wheat; the trade continues very heavy, and the best sorts with difficulty fetch last week's prices; other descriptions 1s. per qr. lower.

Hull, Sept. 30.—The few samples of New Wheat that appeared on Tuesday were generally in good condition: they brought rather more than last week, and but few samples left unsold. Old Beans met free sale 1s. to 2s. per quarter above the prices of last week, and Old Oats may be considered a shade dearer, but few samples of New appear.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, Oct. 24.—We had a good supply of Wheat from the farmers, but having a great many buyers for seed, the best samples were early taken off at 1s. to 2s. per quarter advance, and the general runs were full 1s. per quarter dearer. Foreign Wheat continues to meet a very dull sale, although lower prices would be taken for quantities. Rye sells very slowly, and prices are unaltered. A small parcel of very fine Norfolk Barley arrived this morning, and was retailed to the Maltsters at 47s. per quarter. Fine Malt continues in demand. The supply of new Oats was small, and they sold at 1s. per quarter advance; but there was no alteration in the price of old Oats.—Wheat, new, 60s. to 67s.; foreign, 48s. to 56s.; Rye, 32s. to 36s.; foreign, 32s. to 36s.; Barley, 47s.; Malt, 66s. to 70s.; Oats, 24s. to 30s.; foreign, 22s. to 24s.; Beans, 42s. to 46s.; Pease, White, 8s. to 54s. per quarter. Flour, 50s. per sack.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, Oct. 1.—Our supply of fat Cattle to this day's market was tolerably good, prices 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs. The Store Cattle were supplied very sparingly; Scots sold from 4s. to 5s. 3d. per stone, when fat. Sheep offered every week in great abundance: Shearlings, what few are sold, are from 25s. to 36s. A very considerable number of Stock Ewes here to-day, which sell from 28s. to 38s.; Lambs from 22s. to 30s.; but a large proportion of them remained unsold. Pigs a little cheaper, those fresh in condition, 7s. to 7s. 6d. per stone. Meat—Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 8d. to 10d.; Mutton, 6½d. to 8d.; Lamb, 8½d.; and Pork, 7d. to 8d. per lb.

Horncastle, Oct. 1.—Beef, 8s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 7d.; Lamb, 9d.; and Veal, 8d. to 9d. per lb.

At *Morpeth* market, on Wednesday, there were a great many Cattle, and a full market of Sheep and Lambs; many being inferior, fat sold readily at last week's prices.—Beef, from 6s. 9d. to 7s. 6d.; Mutton, 6s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; and Lamb, 6s. 3d. to 7s. 3d. per stone, sinking offal.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended September 24, 1825.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	66	5	42	5	28	2
Essex	65	7	41	3	27	0
Kent	63	4	41	6	27	3
Sussex	61	7	40	9	27	0
Suffolk	62	0	40	0	27	7
Cambridgeshire	64	0	34	9	25	2
Norfolk	64	9	40	1	26	8
Lincolnshire	65	7	42	9	23	3
Yorkshire	64	5	41	8	23	1
Durham	61	11	40	0	26	0
Northumberland	59	9	36	4	25	5
Cumberland	61	7	37	2	25	1
Westmoreland	62	4	33	0	24	9
Lancashire	63	8	0	0	23	1
Cheshire	65	7	0	0	24	10
Gloucestershire	70	8	48	3	31	2
Somersetshire	68	3	41	10	23	6
Monmouthshire	65	10	50	3	0	0
Devonshire	64	10	41	1	23	1
Cornwall	66	7	38	7	27	7
Dorsetshire	64	5	40	1	27	6
Hampshire	63	8	40	6	24	7
North Wales	65	4	44	1	23	8
South Wales	61	0	34	1	20	3

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.